Volume LXXXIII CHICAGO, July 24, 1919 Number 21

UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

MY CREED

I believe in God, in Humanity, and in Justice,

I give my allegiance, first to the World, then to my Nation, my State, and my Neighborhood.

I acknowledge no authority that bids me do wrong to man or nation.

The ideals toward which I strive are, to become non-sectarian, non-partisan, and consistently and constantly democratic in my relations to society.

To do, not what is profitable materially, but what is right at the time.

Whatever conflicts with this creed and declaration of ideals has no claim upon my influence or actions.

— *George W. Stone*

1911

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIII. THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1919 Number 21

AS IN A ROSE-JAR

As in a rose-jar filled with petals sweet
  Blown long ago in some old garden place,
  Mayhap, where you and I, a little space
Drank deep of love and knew that love was fleet;
Or leaves once gathered from a lost retreat
  By one who never will again retrace
  Her silent footsteps—one whose gentle face
Was fairer than the roses at her feet:

So, deep within the vase of memory
  I keep my dust of roses fresh and dear
    As in the days before I knew the smart
Of time and death. Nor aught can take from me
  The haunting fragrance that still lingers here—
    As in a rose-jar, so within my heart.

Thomas S. Jones, Jr.

We have been content to await President Wilson's own explanation and defence of his part in the work of the Paris Conference, before passing judgment thereupon ourselves. In his address to the United States Senate on July 10th, in statements to newspaper reporters, etc., he has now spoken; and it is evident that the worst that has been thought and said about him is true. The President didn't fight against the imperialists of England, France and Italy in defence of his promises to mankind, and return defeated but glorified by noble effort. On the contrary, he cooperated with these imperialists in their nefarious business, and now enters upon the task of deceiving his countrymen into believing that what was done in Paris was what they wanted to be done. This is a severe indictment, but it is dictated by the words of his own mouth. No one has described more impressively than Woodrow Wilson himself what should have been the achievement of the Conference. "It was universally recognized," he said to the Senate, "that all the peoples of the world demanded of the Conference that it should create such a continuing concert of free nations as would make wars of aggression and spoilation . . . forever impossible. A cry had gone out from every home in every stricken land from which sons and brothers and fathers had gone forth to the great sacrifice that such sacrifice should never again be exacted. . . . Every true heart in the world and every enlightened judgment demanded that, at whatever cost of independent action, every government that took thought for its people or for justice or for ordered freedom should lend itself to a new purpose and utterly destroy the old order of international politics." Then, having thus laid down the test, Mr. Wilson went on to affirm that a treaty which contained the Shantung rape and the Saar Valley outrage, which paralyzed Germany for a generation and banished her forever from the circle of mankind, and which created a new balance of power under the sham arrangement of a League of Nations, met the test. "The work," he said, "squares with the principles agreed upon as the basis of peace, as well as with the practical possibilities of the international situation." O, what a fall is here, my countrymen! Woodrow Wilson, "champion of the rights of mankind," author of the Fourteen Points, leader and spokesman of idealistic democracy, now become co-partner with Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando in the most iniquitous peace since that of 1815, and willing defender of its abominations! "Restive peoples," said the President on July 10th, "knew that (the old policy) was intolerable." Is it not possible that these same "restless peoples" will find the new policy "intolerable" as well; and "intolerable" also the men who speak smooth words in its defence? J. H. H.

The President's Senate address was on the whole a waste of verbiage, singularly monotonous and ineffective for one so often master of the spoken word. It contained occasional passages, however, of potent significance. Of these none was more notable than the paragraph in which he analyzed conditions before the War. "One nation," he said, "desired dominion, and other nations had known no means of defence except armaments and alliances." The words "had known" are well chosen; other means existed, but no nation knew them or dared to try them! Again, "Restive peoples had been told that fleets and armies which they toiled to sustain meant peace, and they now knew that they had been lied to." It would seem as though the old preparedness argument was dead and buried for good and all! Still again, "Fleets and armies had been maintained to promote national ambitions and meant war." Exactly what the despised pacifists have always asserted, and the basis of their opposition to this War from the beginning! But what shall be said of a man who sees these facts so clearly, and yet writes a treaty which makes no provision for general disarmament other than recording a pious hope for its accomplishment! J. H. H.

Two recent statements about Italy are worthy of careful attention. The first is a dispatch from Rome describing the food riots which swept so many Italian

cities a fortnight ago. "The present conditions," it says, "are the consequence of the failure of the governments during the past four years in the diplomatic, financial and economic fields. . . . She (Italy) is worse than a defeated country." The second is an official pronouncement by the Italian Bureau of Information, in New York, to the effect that Italy will be forced into an alliance with Germany, Russia and Japan if she is not taken into the alliance already drawn up by the United States and Great Britain for the defence of France. (See *New York Times,* July 8th.) As we read these statements, we are moved to cogitate afresh on the wonderful achievements of the late War. How triumphant was the victory of the Allies—it leaves them only a little worse off than the defeated countries! How sincere and exalted was the union of the civilized nations of Europe against the barbarians—already, before peace is declared, one of the "big five" threatens to break the alliance and join hands with the enemy! How enduring a piece of handiwork is the League of Nations—one of the chief signatories (Italy) prepares to leave before she has joined, and it is taken for granted that another of these signatories (Japan) has a logical alignment with Germany and Russia, which must sooner or later be fulfilled! It is easy thus to wax bitter and sarcastic at the expense of the Great War, but it would be wrong to abide in such a mood for any considerable length of time. What we are now seeing is the breakdown of all the laborious idealistic pretension by which the horror of the last four years was officially sustained in all countries. We witness the failure of a war, which enlisted nobler devotion and sacrifice from a larger number of men than any armed struggle in history, to accomplish anything for the lasting benefit of mankind. The present international situation constitutes the supreme tragedy of all time—and this calls not for sneers, but tears. "How long, O Lord, how long!"

J. H. H.

Is Secretary Baker destined to be remembered as one of the cruel war ministers of history? Are the militaristic associations of his office, in time of war, destroying altogether the humanitarian ideas and the humane sentiments which were once characteristic of this man? Atrocities committed by military officers on imprisoned conscientious objectors, duly reported to him in horrible detail, have left him apparently unmoved. And now, in answer to the appeal of the Amnesty Committee of Chicago "for the release of all conscientious objectors" in recognition of the restoration of peace, he pours fresh insult upon men guilty of no offence other than that of fidelity to conscience, and endeavors to stir up in the public mind new prejudice and hostility against them. If he were frank in his attitude, we might have respect for his consistency at least—but he is not frank! Think of his being able to write, "I have sought earnestly to protect . . . the rights of conscience," in the light of the record of persecution for which he is officially responsible! And what are we to say about such a statement as the following: "The abolishment of future wars . . . was immeasurably more advanced by the conscience which led young men to give up their lives for it than by the conscience which in the presence of vast and crushing destructive force found itself limited to protest?" This is an evasion of the whole question involved. We are quite ready to admit, for the sake of argument, all that Secretary Baker says about the conscience of the heroic young men who went forth to do battle against the German. We simply contend that conscience in other cases equally noble, if not so effective in terms of physical force, registered a different verdict, and was entitled to equal recognition. Nobody has demanded, so far as we know, that the conscientious objector should be praised and decorated by the government, but only that he should be recognized and treated as an honest, even if misguided, man. The issue is the right of conscience as a principle of religion and political democracy. This Secretary Baker has either evaded or betrayed.

J. H. H.

It has been pleasant to read the noble tributes paid the late Anna Howard Shaw, able and devoted leader of the woman suffrage cause in its closing period of organization and victory. It has been pleasanter still to realize that these enconiums were but repetitions of what was said of and to her full many a time during the latter years of her life. Dr. Shaw, like William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, was one of those happier pioneers in a great work of social change, who lived to see the triumph of her cause, to behold the harvest of her sowing ready for the ingathering. Who that heard it can ever forget the ring of glad exultation in her voice when, speaking at the great Cooper Union meeting in celebration of the woman suffrage victory in New York, she said, "This is the last suffrage speech that I shall ever make in this state." Dr. Shaw was peculiarly a woman of one idea and that idea narrowly held. She never at any time saw the wider implications of the woman's movement—she moved not at all in the sphere of Jane Addams and Mrs. Phillip Snowden. But for just this reason perhaps was she supremely effective in her own field. The suffrage victory marks one of the landmarks of human progress; and in this achievement Anna Howard Shaw ranks high with Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore and Susan B. Anthony.

J. H. H.

It may be well to take this occasion to point out that the suffrage victory, like the prohibition victory, marks a stupendous change in the body politic happily accomplished by peaceful methods of education and persuasion. Violence as an agent of revolution is once again proved to be as unnecessary as it is immoral. Here was a reform which flew straight in the face of every idea taught and accepted, for thousands of years past, about one-half of the entire human race. Here was a movement antagonistic to every principle of religion, political economy and social custom. Here was a suggested over-turn in which those most interested could have nothing to say, but must wait upon the good favor of enfranchised male citizens who had every reason for keeping to themselves a special privilege long and happily enjoyed. Nothing could have seemed more hopeless than the prospect which faced the pioneers of the early part of the nineteenth century, just as nothing could have been more terrible than the ridicule and condemnation to which their efforts for a public hearing were subjected. But with perfect confidence in the rightness of their cause and in the unfailing efficacy in the long run of the process of education, the suffragists started and maintained a campaign unequalled for patience, determination and genius of organization. And now, within the lifetime of some who knew the early days of the crusade, the startling change is wrought! Only once, in a period of more than two generations, was surrender made to the easy temptation to violence—when the English militants started upon their riot of outrage and indecency; and it is the unanimous judgment of unbiased and sympathetic critics, that this resort to force only served to delay the triumph which now has come. Violence, let it be repeated, accomplishes never any good and always much evil. A cause which cannot be won without it, is a bad cause. A cause which is worthy of sanction, needs no other appeal than that of reason and goodwill.

J. H. H.

The Passing of the Constitution

Among the most important articles of the United States Constitution are those which are classified as Amendments. These are provisions which have been added to the original fundamental law of the land, by due vote of Congress and of the people of the several states, in alteration of the document as adopted, as for example the popular election of senators, or in abolition of certain evils and abuses, as for example the abolition of chattel slavery. Among the most important of these Amendments are the first ten, which were accepted very shortly after the inauguration of George Washington as first President of the new republic.

From the very moment that the Constitution was referred to the thirteen states by the Federal Convention of 1787, it was felt that this great instrument of organic law did not properly safeguard those elementary rights of individual and social life for which the War of the Revolution had been fought. This Constitution provided an admirable structure of government, no doubt, but was there not at least a possibility that it was too admirable? Was not the central government too strong—did it not have the power to intrude upon the rights and sanctities of individuals—might it not become, in the hands of unscrupulous rulers, as fatal and terrible an instrument of tyranny as the hated government of George III? So at least thought many! Men like Patrick Henry in Virginia and Samuel Adams in Massachusetts were among those who opposed the Constitution, in whole or in part, because of the peril which it seemed to offer to human liberty. Men like Washington and Madison, warmly supporting the document, pledged themselves to labor for the passage of amendments which would remove the threatened dangers. Many of the ratifying conventions definitely suggested amendments which they felt to be necessary for the happiness of the people and the stability of the new government. It is not surprising, therefore, that twelve amendments were promptly submitted to the states by the first Congress, that ten of these twelve were adopted, and that eight of these ten, to quote Prof. Edward Channing, in his *History of the United States,* "had to do with the rights of individuals and were restrictions upon the exercise of power by the central government."

It may be interesting, now, to turn to some of these Amendments and consider what has happened to them in the course of a war fought to "make the world safe for democracy," and is now happening in the aftermath of this war:

(1) The compendius Article I sets forth, among other things, that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble," etc.

It is to be noted that this Article I does not qualify its denial to Congress of the power to pass the kind of laws specified, by any such phrases as "except in time of war," or "except under conditions which may make such laws necessary to public safety." The Amendment flatly states, without qualification or exception, that "Congress shall make no law" forbidding or abridging freedom of speech, press and assembly. This freedom is to be regarded as an inalienable right, not to be abrogated or impaired under any circumstances whatsoever. It is for the guaranteeing of these rights that the government exists; if it abrogates these rights, its whole *raison d'etre* is gone! And yet, during the past two years, under the influence of the hysteria generated by the War, Congress has passed just such laws as are precisely and cate-

gorically forbidden in this Amendment. What is more, judges have solemnly pronounced these laws to be valid, and the administration has enforced them with ruthless rigor. Eugene V. Debs, and hundreds of men like him, are at this moment behind prison bars, serving sentences of an unprecedentedly ferocious character, for no other offense than that of exercising their constitutional right of free speech. Hundreds of newspapers and magazines have been suppressed or forbidden the use of the mails, and freedom of the press thus denied to any man who did not support the policies of government. The right of citizens to assemble, for discussion of grievances and reforms, has long since become impossible in thousands of cities and towns in America. We are a people spied upon, silenced, outraged and persecuted. Our liberties would have been more decently but not more effectually denied us, had the first Amendment been duly repealed, and thus torn from the text of the Constitution.

(2) Article IV provides that "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Here is a safeguard of liberty, sacred in the traditions of English law, which has been wantonly abrogated during the last two years. No man is safe today against the violence of those who rule us and seek to force us to their will. All over the country, houses and offices have been entered, and papers and property seized, with or without warrants, not "upon probable cause" but upon mere suspicion, and not with knowledge of "things to be seized" but only with the wild hope of finding some stray letter or paper which is sedition. And this practice of burglary by due process of law is still going merrily on, as witness the raids of the Lusk Investigating Committee in New York. Organized to hunt out Bolshevism, under obligation to find or manufacture evidence not otherwise obtainable, this committee is now engaged in "breaking and entering" any premises where they imagine that by some good luck they may discover something which will give them a case against the "Reds." No man's house is safe against them. Doors are broken down, safes opened, desks rifled, papers and documents carted away for private examination and public disclosure. And yet Article IV of the Amendments to the national Constitution prescribes that this is just the thing which shall not be done. Verily, verily, we Americans are a complacent, or a woefully unjust, people!

(3) Article VI provides, among other things, "that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial . . . and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him . . ," etc.

Has this Amendment been repealed? No! But is it enforced, or observed? No, again! In large sections of this country it has of late become a sport among so-called respectable and law-abiding people to seize members of the I. W. W., throw them into jail, and hold them there for indefinite periods without indictment, trial, bail, or any of the accepted safeguards and privileges of the legal process. The National Civil Liberties Bureau of New York has record of one case where men have been held without trial for a period now aggregating more than nineteen months, in one of the most loathsome prisons in this country. During all this while they have been denied fair conditions of bail, informed of nothing other than technical charges, and confronted with no witnesses. They have simply been gotten out of the way by being cast into dungeons and forgotten, much as the enemies of feudal lords and princes were similarly imprisoned and forgotten. And what was done in this notorious case has been done in somewhat the same way many scores of times in this country, during the last two years. Such procedure of course is a denial of everything laid down in this Article VI. The fact of the matter is that we obey this Amendment only in the case of those criminals whom we do not particularly hate or fear. Outcasts from our human sympathy are also outcasts from our law. The Constitution is only for those whom we socially recognize.

These are illustrations of the way in which constitutional Amendments, especially enacted to safeguard the liberties of the people, are now being either neglected, defied, or wantonly outraged. Other instances might easily be given. Thus, there is Article XV of the Amendments which provides that "the right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged . . . on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It has long been the boast of the South that this Article has been successfully abrogated in many of the southern states; and now that the Negroes are returning from service in the Great War with a new sense of the dignity, obligations and rights of citizenship, it is promised that oppression of the blacks will be more terrible and openly lawless than ever before. Even the main body of the Constitution seems not to be safe from infringement. Clause 11, of Section VIII, of Article I, provides, for example, that "The Congress shall have power . . . to declare war." And yet at this moment American soldiers are serving, and some of them being slain, in a war against the people of Great Russia which has never had any sanction other than that of the President and his official advisers. Such facts raise questions of momentous import for the American people.

(1) Thus, do we believe in constitutional government? Not to believe in it, is no crime. The English form of government, which is independent of all code restrictions, has seemed to many persons to be distinctly superior to the system established in this country. But we have a Constitution; and these open violations of its provisions inevitably raise the question as to whether we really believe in it or not. If not, should we not withdraw it altogether, and seek a new basis of national organization?

(2) Secondly, are we an honest people? Is there not a dreadful hypocrisy involved in this august enthronement of rights in our Constitution, and their persistent overthrow in the actual practices of social life? Are we not falling into the habit of claiming virtues which we do not possess—of standing for ideals which we deliberately refuse to fulfill? Charles Dickens and other foreign observers have felt that there was some reason for describing us as dishonest, as being willing to deceive ourselves in the hope of deceiving others; and certainly such practices as we have enumerated above, do much to substantiate this indictment.

(3) Again, are we a lawful people? Do we really believe in law and order? Are we not always ready to take the law into our own hands, and happiest when we have done so? Was not the famous anti-lynching proclamation of President Wilson, issued during the War when a wave of lawless violence was sweeping the country from end to end, a document supremely typical of America? And is there any other nation in the modern world where the occasion for such an official utterance is even conceivable?

(4) Lastly, are we Americans really a liberty-loving people? Do we care a fig in our heart of hearts, after all, for the priceless boon of freedom? Can we meet "the acid test" of liberty—which is to love it so much as to be willing to grant it to the other fellow? I sometimes feel that the most terrible revelation of the Great War was the disclosure of how little the average American knows about liberty, or cares to practice it.

Such are some of the questions raised by what seems to be the passing of our Constitution. These are questions which cannot safely be evaded by any true lover of America, or of human kind. For they vitally concern the whole future of the nation, and pierce straight to the heart of what still stands as the greatest experiment in democracy that the world has ever known.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

CONTRIBUTED

The Negro Soldier and the Negro Citizen

The following charges are made by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois in the July number of the *Crisis*, the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

1. Wholesale dismissal and transfer of Negro officers regardless of merit.
2. Wide and continuous distribution of printed and spoken propaganda against an "inferior" race.
3. Open reiteration of unfounded charges of cowardice and infamous crime.
4. Deliberate attempts to discourage morale, without equipment and put unequipped units into battle.
5. Mistreating, overworking and almost enslaving many of the stevadore laborers.
6. Dismissing and demoting white officers who refused to join the anti-Negro campaign.
7. Organizing one of the bitterest and most stinging campaigns of personal affront and insult ever attempted in a civilized land against civilized people.

These charges should be supported by sufficient number of documents to warrant a most thorough and searching investigation by Congress of this whole matter. Two hundred thousand Negro soldiers were drafted to fight for democracy. Such treatment as Dr. Bu Bois describes is unworthy of any free people. The heroic services of the black troops, both as laborers and combatants, ought to command the hearty respect of every American. Such treatment as these members of the colored race are said to have received is a denial of the fundamental principles of America. We cannot afford to permit these injustices to be passed without comment. If men are drafted for public service then simple justice demands that they receive equal treatment with all others in the same service. It is a duty of every reader of UNITY to call attention to members of Congress to the charges made by Dr. Du Bois, and ask for a thorough investigation of the entire subject of treatment of colored troops in the war.

A. L. WEATHERLY.

The Elevation of the "Untouchables" of India

Probably nothing stands so much in the way of progress in India as caste. And of all caste rules perhaps no other is so unjust and cruel in its effects as that which assigns some 50 millions of the Indian people to a place outside of and below all caste, and makes them "untouchables." Happily there are many signs that caste regulations and customs are steadily and in some respects rapidly relaxing, and nowhere is this more noticeably the case than in connection with this unfortunate class who have so long been at the bottom of the social scale.

Eight or ten years ago there was organized what was called the "Depressed Classes Mission," the object of which was to break the ban under which these unfortunates were living, and to lift them up. The aim of the movement was so obviously just and important that it commended itself to all classes; and branches of the mission were soon established in nearly all parts of India. The Brahmo Somaj was particu-

larly active in it; indeed, the man to whom, perhaps more than to any other, the inception and the progress of the movement has been due, is the Rev. V. R. Shinde of Bombay, a leading Brahmo missionary,—and, by the way, one of the men brought to England by the English Unitarians for two years of religious training as a student in their theological school at Oxford. The Arya Somaj also early took up the work, as did the Christians and the Theosophists; and, what was very significant, by degrees the Hindus, even those claiming to be soundly orthodox, began to come in; and they have come in more and more, until now the movement may be called a national one.

At the next to the last session of the National Indian Congress, held in Calcutta, that influential and representative body passed the following resolution:

This Congress urges upon the people of India the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the Depressed Classes, the disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character.

Not less significant was the "All-India Depressed Classes Mission Conference for the Abolition of Untouchability," held a few months later in Bombay, which passed the following very comprehensive and strong resolution:

This Conference is of the opinion that the condition of untouchableness imposed upon the depressed classes in India ought forthwith to be abolished, and for this purpose calls upon influential and representative leaders of thought and action in every province to issue a *Manifesto,* abolishing such untouchability, and enabling these classes to have free and unrestricted access to public institutions such as schools, dispensaries, courts of justice, etc., conducted for the public benefit and at public expense, and also to such places as wells, springs, reservoirs, municipal stand-pipes, burning and bathing ghats, places of amusement, of business, of worship, etc.

Such a manifesto was immediately drawn up, signed by 285 men, among the most distinguished and influential in all India, of every faith, class, rank and calling, and circulated in all parts of the land. Perhaps the most noticeable feature of the manifesto was the large number of "orthodox" Hindus and high caste Brahmans that signed it, showing, as nothing else could do, that Hindu orthodoxy is opening its eyes to the light, and that caste, its strongest bulwark, is beginning distinctly to crumble.

The manifesto is so outspoken and so fine, and means so much not only for the unfortunate class in whose interest it was issued, but for the future of all India, that it may well be copied here. Says this remarkable paper:

With a view to giving practical effect to the above resolutions, we, the undersigned, declare hereby that the removal of the bar of untouchability is imperatively and immediately needed as much in the interest of the United Indian Nation as also in the defence of what is best and highest in Hindu Religion. We also demand it, therefore, as the bounded duty of every true son and daughter of India, each and every faithful follower of the Hindu religion, nay every member of self-respecting humanity, that he should do his utmost in the cause of removing this untouchability, as well as restoring the millions of its victims in the country to a decent and efficient status of life.

We, the undersigned, also declare hereby that it is our personal duty to give effect to the above resolution whenever required of us severally in our own case.

Any one who is acquainted with the history of India, and especially with the history of the Hinduism and of caste, will see at once how remarkable this document is, and how much it means as to the breaking down of old, hard, cruel, religious ideas and customs that have tyrannized over the Indian people for centuries.

Another thing also he will recognize, namely, the quiet, pervasive, slowly but powerfully enlightening influence of the Brahmo Somaj for now more than three quarters of a century, and also the large and, on the whole, enlightening influence of the Christian missions,—influences which, without the public recognizing it, have made inevitable, nay, have largely caused, this advance, this great broadening and humanizing of Hinduism. Certainly without the long work of the Christian missions, and especially without the long and wide-reading work and influence of the Brahmo Somaj, such a movement for the freedom and elevation of the 50,000,000 of India's "untouchables" taken up as a great national crusade, would be inconceivable.

Here we have an illustration—one more of the thousands with which history is filled—of the sure fruitage, in the end, of all good work done, no matter how long the fruit-bearing may be delayed, or in how unexpected a form it may at last appear.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

News from Europe

France and Her Debts.

M. Francis Delaisi, the great French economist, says that "vehement critics of France's narrow protectionist policy are arising everywhere." The fiscal policy of the government "encounters ever-growing opposition from small industries, from commerce, and from consumers." M. Delaisi says:

The only way we have of recovering our independence is to repay our debts, and in order to do so we must become a great exporting nation. That is in our power, provided that we develop to their maximum capacity and as quickly as possible all the riches of the devastated areas and of Alsace-Lorraine, which is going to make us the greatest metallurgical Power of Continental Europe, unless our industrial magnates prevent it. A short-sighted protectionist policy will alone suffice to delay indefinitely the hour of economic liber ation. No doubt our effort will demand several immediate sacrifices—it will for a year or two compel us to import enormous quantities of implements and manufactured products, and will provisionally increase our indebtedness to foreign Powers. But at the present time our allies are still disposed to give us credit. They know the sacrifices France has made for the common cause, and they desire her rapid recovery. They themselves are face to face with a crisis of super-production resulting from the armistice, and they need an outlet for their superabundance. They are disposed to advance us the necessary sums for our purchases in their countries. Are we going to force them to seek in Germany the outlet which we ourselves are refusing them?

Peace League of Religions.

A proposal for the formation of a "League of Religions for the Promotion of World Peace" is announced by the Jewish Peace Society. The proposal originated at a conference held in London on December 3rd. The appeal issued says: "We look to a League of Nations to guarantee the peace of the world. What is to guarantee the League of Nations? The idea suggested is that all the religious communions throughout the earth should join in common propaganda on behalf of the peace ideal. Each would be free to draw its inspiration for the common task from its specific tenets, and to maintain its separate peace organization. But given the inspiration, the leaders of all the religious communions—Christian, Jewish, Mohammedan, Buddhist and the

rest, together with those of modern origin, would federate themselves in order to speak with the united voice which alone can ensure full authority for their utterances. A further conference will be held in the first instance under the auspices of the society."

In addition to many representative members of the Jewish community the following are among those who have given their support: Lord Parmoor, Bishop Bury (Bishop of North and Central Europe), the Bishop of Southwark, the Dean of Durham, Sir W. H. Dickinson (secretary of the British Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches), Lady Barlow, Dr. John Clifford, Sir Arthur Crosfield, Sir John McClure (Mill Hill School), the Rev. R. J. Campbell, the Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter (Manchester College, Oxford), Principal Garvie (New College, Hampstead), Mr. C. Heath (secretary of the National Peace Council), Miss Emily Hobhouse, Principal Jacks (Manchester College, Oxford), Canon Hewlett Johnson (St. Margaret's, Altrincham), the Rev. F. B. Meyer, Miss Maude Royden, Canon Rawnsley, Principal Selbie (Mansfield College, Oxford), and the Master of Balliol.

Polish Massacre of Jews.

The Central Office (London) of the Zionist Organization has received a telegram from its Copenhagen Bureau containing further details of the murders of Jews at Vilna. This states that during the fight for the town the Poles armed the mob, who started an attack on the Jewish population. The "Chevra Kadisha" (Jewish Society for rendering the last rites of the dead) has already ascertained that there are 2,200 Jewish dead. Afterwards all the able-bodied Jews, numbering about 10,000, were deported to Lida, but their present whereabouts is unknown.

Three days after the capture of Vilna General Pilsudski, the Polish President, arrived, and made his brother commander. The latter re-established order and appointed a municipal council of four Poles and four Jews. Nevertheless, adds the telegram, the Poles boycott the Jews and sell them no foodstuffs, so that there is a terrible famine.

A Convert from Unionism.

Lord Henry Cavendish-Benntick, member of Parliament for a division of Nottingham, is a convert to the cause of Irish Home Rule. Recently in the House of Commons he said

he had been all his life a member of the Unionist Party, but was free to confess that now he had changed his opinions. What was more, he had the entire consent of his constituents to speak his mind on the Irish question. He had ceased to believe in the shibboleth that the Irish were incapable of governing themselves, and that they could not be reconciled. If we ceased to thwart the inherited and deeply rooted instincts of the Irish people, and threw upon them the responsibility of governing themselves, and gave them leave to develop to their own national individuality, there would be no more contented, happy and well-governed community within the British Empire. He asked the members of the party with which he had so long been associated to take a more sympathetic view of Irish aspirations, and particularly the action of those engaged in the constitutional movement. He quoted an appeal made on similar lines by Disraeli seventy-five years ago, in which Ireland was described as the bane of England and the opprobrium of Europe, and a generous policy was urged. The result of our indifference and hostility to the constitutional movement in Ireland has been to destroy that movement to a very large extent, and to project the people into republicanism and violent courses.

He asked the Chief Secretary how long, in his opinion, it would be possible to continue the government of Ireland on the present lines of military repression. It was impossible to browbeat and to kill the spirit of a proud, independent people with a great history behind them. Much of the unhappiness of Ireland was due to the country being governed, not in the interests of the majority, but of the minority.

Barons by the Bushel.

A London weekly reports that from

December, 1916, to April, 1919, 155 persons received hereditary honors, 154 being members of the House of Commons or backers of the Prime Minister in the press. One honor had been given to a member of the fighting services.

Small wonder that the working people have lost all faith in a Parliament of intrigue and veiled corruption, and are pinning their faith to Soviets and direct action.

Politicians Provoking Revolution.

So far as direct, honest information on world problems is concerned we here in America hold an unenviable position. There is no country in Europe where so rigorous a censorship is exercised. And why should the French and British people enjoy to the full in their newspapers information on Russian, Italian, Turkish, Indian and Chinese affairs which is withheld from us? If we knew what our five autocrats are doing to provoke revolution, the news might shake us out of our apathy and seeming indifference. The following from a slashing editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* is an instance of the way Liberal organs of opinion in Europe discuss problems and affairs we hear little about:

Inquiry into the motives of politicians is a sterile pursuit. It suffices to consider what they are doing. Now, in the east of Europe—the revolutionary center of the twentieth century, just as France was of the eighteenth century—the Allies are identifying themselves with reaction. In Finland they have acknowledged the Mannerheim Government of the White Terror—a bloodier terror by far than the Red Terror which perceded it; in Poland they put into power the party of Dmowski, the party of unbridled Jingoism, anti-Semitism and Conservatism; in Roumania they are associated with the boyars, or great landlords of an oppressed peasantry; in Russia they are the friends and helpers of Kolchak. What is there to distinguish the policy of the Allied Governments in 1919 from the policy of the Allied Governments in 1793 and 1815? Their professions, of course; but in this world it is the acts, not the professions, of men which count. What is different is the temper of the peoples. After the losses and the trials of the terrible war the masses are weary, but they are also sullen, and they are very exigent. Already the emotional pleasure of victory and of dictating to and punishing the enemy is losing its power to satisfy. There abides a profound lack of faith in ruling persons and classes —which is rapidly developing into a profound lack of faith in their integrity—and a desire for a more tolerable life. It is all still vague, and while it is still vague the Allied Governments can lodge reaction in office over large areas of Europe, as their predecessors did a century ago. But all these political fabrics are without substance. Nothing is more certain than that they cannot endure. The politicians who erected them, instead of dealing honestly with honest tasks, are inviting and provoking revolution.

Food for Central Europe.

John Galsworthy, in his appealing letter for funds to purchase food, says:

Judging from the White Paper containing the reports of British officers sent last winter by our Government to examine into the conditions prevailing in Germany, the food situation there must by now be appalling; and there is much other evidence that the poorer women and children in Central Europe are in the greatest distress. If we do not now speed up their rescue multitudes of them must founder before next harvest.

If the publics in Britain and America could visualize the state of affairs disclosed by this White Paper, in which one reads over and over again that stocks will be exhausted before May, they would be as horrified as we know from General Plumer's message our soldiers have been. Generosity to a terribly beaten enemy will do none of us any harm. For the honor of Britain we cannot in cold blood let women and children perish of slow starvation if it is physically possible to prevent it.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN

Held at Zurich, May 12-17, 1919
and arranged by The International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace and to be called in future The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The International Congress of Women, which met at the Hague in 1915, resolved that "an International Meeting of Women shall be held in the same place and at the same time as the Conference of the Powers, which shall frame the terms of the Peace Settlement after the war, for the purpose of presenting practical proposals to that Conference."

In accordance with this plan, the present Congress was held, although not at the same place, still at the same time as the official Peace Conference, when it adopted *the following resolutions to be presented to the Peace Conference of the Powers in Paris by the following Delegation appointed by the Congress:*

Jane Addams, president, U. S. A.;
Charlotte Despard, Great Britain;
Gabrielle Duchêne, France;
Rosa Genoni, Italy;
Clara Ragaz, Switzerland;
Chrystal Macmillan, Secretary, Great Britain.

Resolutions

I. On Famine and Blockade

This International Congress of Women regards the famine, pestilence, and unemployment extending throughout great tracts of Central and Eastern Europe and into Asia as a disgrace to civilization.

It therefore urges the Governments of all the Powers assembled at the Peace Conference immediately to develop the interallied organizations formed for purposes of war into an international organization for purposes of peace, so that the resources of the world—food, raw materials, finance, transport—shall be made available for the relief of the peoples of all countries from famine and pestilence.

To this end it urges that immediate action be taken:

1. To raise the blockade, and;
2. If there is insufficiency of food or transport:

(*a*) To prohibit the use of transport from one country to another for the conveyance of luxuries until the necessaries of life are supplied to all peoples;

(*b*) To ration the people of every country so that the starving may be fed.

The Congress believes that only immediate international acton on these lines can save humanity and bring about the permanent reconciliation and union of the peoples.

II. On Treaty of Peace

A. ON PEACE TERMS

This International Congress of Women expresses its deep regret that the Terms of Peace proposed at Versailles should so seriously violate the principles upon which alone a just and lasting peace can be secured, and which the democracies of the world had come to accept.

By guaranteeing the fruits of the secret treaties to the conquerors, the Terms of Peace tacitly sanction secret diplomacy, deny the principles of self-determination, recognize the right of the victors to the spoils of war, and create all over Europe discords and animosities, which can only lead to future wars.

By the demand for the disarmament of one set of belligerents only, the principal of justice is violated and the rule of force is continued.

By the financial and economic proposals a hundred million people of this generation in the heart of Europe are condemned to poverty, disease and despair which must result in the spread of hatred and anarchy within each nation.

With a deep sense of responsibility this Congress strongly urges the Allied and Associated Governments to accept such amendments of the Terms, as shall bring the Peace into harmony with those principles first enumerated by President Wilson upon the faithful carrying out of which the honor of the Allied peoples depends.

B. LEAGUE OF NATIONS

This Congress holds, that the peaceful progress of the world can only be assured, when the common interests of humanity are recognized in the establishment of a League of Nations, which shall represent the will of the people and promote international co-operation. It therefore records its satisfaction, that the idea of a League of Nations, regarded as impracticable by the majority of people at the time of the Congress of Women at the Hague in 1915, has become so widely accepted; that, incorporated in the armistice terms of November 11, 1918, it was agreed to, both by the Allied and Associated Powers and by Germany. But the Congress regrets, that the covenant of the League now submitted by the Allied and Associated Powers, in many respects does not accord with the fourteen points laid down as the basis for the present negotiations; contains certain provisions that will stultify its growth; and omit others, which are essential to world-peace.

ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS OMITTED FROM THE COVENANT

The Congress declares, that to be a real instrument of peace, capable of development rather than one which sets up conditions tending to produce war, the League of Nations should embody certain fundamental principles, now omitted from the Covenant.

In order to avoid future wars, it urges the immediate adoption of these following essential conditions:

(*a*) Membership freely open, from the time of the establishment of the League, to any state desiring to join, and willing to perform the duties of membership;

(*b*) The number of nations to be included in the executive body not to be less than eleven;

(*c*) Immediate reduction of armaments on the same terms for all member-states;

(*d*) Abolition of conscription in all states joining the League;

(*e*) Adherence to the principle of self-determination in territorial adjustments and matters of nationality, whether sanctioned by the secret treaties, by the treaty embodying the Covenant of the League of Nations, or by later treaties;

(*f*) The right of direct presentation to the League by Nationalities and Dependencies within any government of their desires as to self-government;

(*g*) Free access to raw materials for all nations on equal terms;

(*h*) Abrogation of regional understandings, like the "Monroe Doctrine" and "other international engagements," insofar as inconsistent with the Covenant of the League;

(*i*) Provision for easier amendment of the Constitution.

ENDORSEMENT OF CERTAIN PRINCIPLES NOW IN THE COVENANT

The Congress welcomes the recognition in the Covenant of certain principles which it has held since its foundation but believes that they cannot be put into practice unless the above essential conditions are also included.

These principles are:

(*a*) Establishment of machinery for arbitration and conciliation;

(*b*) Abolition of secret treaties;

(*c*) Provisions for the revision of treaties which have become inapplicable and for changing certain international conditions, which, if continued, may endanger the peace of the world;

(*d*) Recognition of the necessity for the reduction of armaments and for publicity concerning their manufacture;

(*e*) Abrogation of certain obligations inconsistent with the Covenant;

(*f*) Promotion of "Freedom of transit" and of equal trading opportunities for all members of the League;

(*g*) Organization by the League of international resources to combat disease and to improve health.

ADDITIONAL PRINCIPLES TO STRENGTHEN THE LEAGUE

This Congress considers that the League will be greatly strengthened as an instrument of peace when the nations composing it agree to the adoption, in addition to the essential principles enumerated above, of the following principles not now found in the Covenant.

(*a*) Total disarmament (land, sea, air);

(*b*) Enforcement of the decisions of the League by other means than military pressure or food-blockade;

(*c*) Registration and review of all existing treaties and international en-

gagements within a specified time, and the abrogation of such as are not thus registered;

(*d*) National ratification of treaties only by an elected legislative body;

(*e*) Executive power of the League to be democratically elected;

(*f*) Universal free trade;

(*g*) Adoption of a plan of world economy for the production and distribution of the necessities of life at the smallest cost;

(*h*) Abolition of the protection of the investments of the capitalist of one country in the resources of another;

(*i*) Guaranteeing the representation and protection of the civil and political rights of minorities within each nation including those of language, religion and education;

(*j*) The requirement that all backward races under the tutelage of more advanced nations should be put under the guardianship of the League and that the mandatory power be required to promote the development and power of self-government of their wards;

(*k*) Complete freedom of communication and travel;

(*l*) Abolition of child labor;

(*m*) Agreement between the nations in the League to the abolition of the governmental censorship;

(*n*) Establishment of full equal suffrage and the full equality of women with men politically, socially and economically;

WOMEN'S POSITION IN A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Congress welcomes the international recognition of women in the proposals put forward by the Allied and Associated Powers, providing in their draft for a Covenant of a League of Nations for the admission of women to all positions "in connection with the League" this making them eligible for the Assembly, the Executive Council and the Commissions therein proposed, and urges that this be explicitly stated in the Covenant.

C. WOMEN'S CHARTER

That the Peace Conference be urged to insert in the Peace Treaty the following Women's Charter:

The Contracting Parties recognize that the status of women, social, political and economic is of supreme international importance.

They hold that the natural relation between men and women is that of interdependence and co-operation and that it is injurious to the community to restrict women to a position of dependence, to discourage their education or development, or to limit their opportunities.

They hold that the recognition of women's service to the world not only as wage earners, but as mothers and homemakers, is an essential factor in the building up of the world's peace.

They recognize that differences in social development and tradition make strict uniformity with respect to the status of women difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that social progress is dependent upon the status of the women in the community, they think that there are certain principles which all communities should endeavor to apply.

Among these principles the following seem to the Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance:

(*a*) That suffrage should be granted to women and their equal status with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, both national and international, recognized;

(*b*) That women, equally with men, should have the protection of the law against slavery, such as still exists in some parts of Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa;

(*c*) That on marriage a woman should have full personal and civic rights, including the right to the use and disposal of her own earnings and property, and should not be under the tutelage of her husband;

(*d*) That the mother should have the same right of guardianship of her children as the father;

(*e*) That a married woman should have the same right to retain or change her nationality as a man;

(*f*) That all opportunities for education should be open to both sexes;

(*g*) That women should have the same opportunity for training and for entering industries and professions as men;

(*h*) That women should receive the same pay as men for the same work;

(*i*) That the traffic in women should be suppressed; the regulation of vice abolished; an equal moral standard recognized;

(*j*) That the responsibility not only of the mother, but also of the father, of a child born out of weldock should be recognized;

(*k*) That there should be adequate economic provision for the service of motherhood;

(*l*) That no political or industrial quarrel should deprive the mother of food for her children.

Without claiming that these principles are complete, the Contracting Parties are of opinion, that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations, and that, if adopted by the communities, which are Members of the League, they will confer lasting benefits upon the whole world.

D. ON WOMEN AND GENERAL LABOR CONFERENCE

Since the General Labor Conference to be set up under the Treaty of Peace deals with questions which directly affect large numbers of wage-earning women in all countries, this International Congress of Women calls attention to Article 3 of the Report of the Commisson on International Labor Legislation, which proposes that this General Labor Conference should consist of representatives from each country, namely, two Government delegates, one representative of employers, and one of employees and urges that in the interest of these women workers this Article should be amended so as provide that at least one representative from each country shall be a woman.

E. ON WOMEN'S VOTE IN PLEBISCITES

This International Congress of Women urges that the following clause be inserted in the Peace Treaty:

"That in any Plebiscite taken under the Treaty of Peace or a League of Nations women should have the same right to vote as men."

III. On Present Military Action in Russia and Hungary

This International Congress of Women, recognizing the right of each nation to determine its own form of government on the lines laid down in President Wilson's 14 points, urges the immediate cessation of attack upon Russia and Hungary, whether by armed force, by supply of munitions or money, or by blockade.

It protests against the warfare now being waged without open declaration of war, upon peoples who are experimenting in a new social and economic order, which may prove to have a great contribution to make to the world, and which has not yet had a fair trial.

IV. Amnesty for War Prisoners

This International Congress of Women urges all the belligerent nations immediately to proclaim an amnesty for political prisoners, including conscientious objectors to military service, and requests that, where necessary, public funds be given to ensure the return of prisoners of war from Siberia and other remote places.

Address all communications to MISS EMILY G. BALCH, *Secretary and Treasurer Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 39, avenue Ernest-Pictet, Servette-Geneve (Suisse).*

MR. WILFRED HUMPHRIES LECTURER ON RUSSIA

Since the publication in these columns two weeks ago of a report of Mr. Humphries' very interesting and valuable account of his year's experience in Russia and Siberia following the fall of the Kerensky government, it has been suggested that perhaps other churches, clubs and forums would like to hear Mr. Humphries and to know where he may be reached. We are glad to be able to furnish the information that a letter addressed to Mr. Wilfred Humphries, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, will reach him, as he is now in the East, but he will doubtless be available in the Middle West and West later in the summer and early fall. He has with him a very remarkable collection of lantern slides which he brought out of Russia showing the various Soviet reforms in actual operation. These he shows with the lecture when desired.

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INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

The world is in a state of flux, almost of chaos, in political organization. Old governmental forms, over a large part of the world's surface, have passed away, giving place to newer and more democratic forms. The nations of Europe, large and small, are taking on, more than ever before, not only political but industrial democracy. But, strangely enough yet not without reason, they are anxiously asking whether the United States is likely to make like progress. For, having suffered less of the horrors of war, we have not learned so well the lessons it has taught to the people of the Old World.

With us the reactionary, who never learns, plans busily that the Great War, with its suffering to millions, shall cause him no loss and greater profits than ever. He has organization, by which he constantly enforced his will. Those who have a vision of a better order of the world, built on the lessons the Great War has taught, are disorganized and hence are constantly overcome.

A group of people who feel that these scattered groups should get together and discuss the action which in the present case should be taken is preparing to issue a call for a Conference. Shall we tell you how you and every forward-looking American citizen can help in meeting this crisis?—Adv.

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